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Working Our Way Back to the President

by Murray N. Rothbard

As often happens, our current quandary was put best by my valued lifelong buddy and libertarian colleague, Professor Ralph Raico. Ralph was an ardent Buchananite, but as Pat faded in the primaries, and the horrible nomination of Slick Willie loomed, Ralph began to admonish me, in his hilarious mocking half-serious tone: "Remember Murray, we must do nothing to harm the President." When the Perot phenomenon hit, Ralph, for some unaccountable reason, failed to share our enthusiasm for the little punk from East Texas. After the punk's Great Betrayal of the Perotvian movement, I was ranting and raving over the phone to Ralph, who took it all in, and then concluded: "I'm glad to see you're working your way back to the President."

Yes, gulp, and here we are. It is late July, and we're down to the grim, realistic choice: which of two sets of bozos is going to rule us in the years 1993-1997? Lord knows, it's a crummy, terrible choice, presented to us by a rotten, extra-constitutional two-party system that is fastened upon us by restrictive laws and a moribund electoral college system. But there it is, and there we are. *Which set* should we choose to rule us?

No publication has been more bitterly critical of George Bush than *RRR*; certainly no publication has been more vituperatively opposed to Bush's lionized Gulf War. But yet, dammit, we are working our way back to the President. What? "Four More Years?" Yes, yes, for consider the alternative. It's come down to Bush or Clinton, and there can be only one rational answer for the conservative, the paleolibertarian, or indeed for any sensible American. Four More Years!

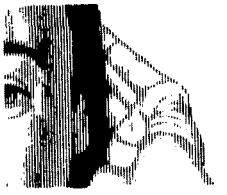
What? "Four More Years?" Yes, yes, for consider the alternative.

Let's boil the reasons down into two categories: the positive reasons to vote for Bush, and the negative reasons to vote against Bill Clinton.

For Bush

#1. First and foremost, Bush ain't Bill Clinton (see below.)

(Cont. page 3, col. 1)



THE EAR

by Sarah Barton

A profile in *The N.Y. Times Magazine* celebrates the left-libertarians' favorite governor, "social liberal" William Weld of Massachusetts, who is pro-choice on abortion (up until the moment of birth) and anti-choice on private property (he wants gays to be able to force their way into housing and businesses). Known for playing female roles in prep school, Weld's yearbook praised him as a "very coquettish Melissa" in one production.

(Cont. next page, col. 1)

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(THE EAR cont. from pg. 1)

Weld reassured the *Times* that he cut state spending only because of the bad investment climate: "I am not a minimalist on government." When times improve, he said, he would be "spending money" on buying up private land for "preservation," "AIDS prevention," and "geographic communities of color."

* * * * *

A woman in the military tells me that the real scandal of the Gulf War was not "sexual harassment," but the piles of cash many young female soldiers made selling themselves to Arabs. The swarthy officers of Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, Egypt, etc. were willing to pay top dollar for a white night.

* * * * *

Congratulations to paleolibertarian Greg Kaza for winning his Republican state rep. primary in Michigan! Through hard work and sheer grit, Greg overcame a last minute smear, and won 50% of the vote in a four-way race.

* * * * *

A woman in the State Department complains: "We were sent to Hungary to teach them about representative government, and all we did was lobby for a [@#%!&] gay rights plank in the new constitution!"

* * * * *

I have my differences, Lord knows, with Ed Crane, but even though he is dealing with building relocation problems, he doesn't deserve covert canvassing for a possible successor.

* * * * *

From a July 21st column by Bill Buckley: "The rights of women should certainly be affirmed, *as also the civil rights of gays* (emphasis added)." Since civil rights means giving some protected group the right to invade other people's property, this seems startling for Buckley. But not when you consider his move to social democracy, his endorsement of "national service," and what his closest friends have always had in common.

* * * * *

Our old buddies at Cato, who seem to have an unerring instinct for the wrong position, are in favor of the Clinton/Gore ticket! Three reasons: (1) Clinton is better (ie. far more left) on "social" issues—well, *that's* for sure; (2) Clinton isn't "so bad" on other issues, and (3) that Clinton is *so* bad on these other issues, that four years of Slick Willie will provoke a counter-revolution. (2) and (3) flatly contradict each other, but heck, you don't expect *consistency* from Fast Eddie Crane, do you? (3) is also cynical and immoral (which never stopped Fast Eddie either), and never works anyway.

Our old buddies at Cato, who seem to have an uneering instinct for the wrong position, are in favor of the Clinton/ Gore ticket!

Hey, do you get the feeling that the Catonics, along with lots of other folks in the libertarian movement, take their political cue from us—that is, they find out what we at *RRR* think, and then advocate just the opposite? If so, it would be an apt commentary on these jackasses, but what I want to know is, how can we make money on this; on Cato, or *Liberty*, or *Reason* futures, so to speak? If we urged everyone to buy some stock, would all these guys sell it?

* * * * *

Newton D. Baker, secretary of war under Woodrow Wilson, wrote in December 1935 to Carnegie Corporation president Frederick C. Keppel: "I think anybody who has read *Anthony Adverse* will share my feeling of unlimited amazement at the courage of the white people in this country who received the slaves from slave ships and undertook to make useful laborers of them. How many white civilizations could have dared to receive so many wild savages, who were practically uncaged animals, and spread them around over their farms in contact with their own families, passes human comprehension." ■

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(Working Our Way. . .cont. from P.1)

#2. Bush has by far the most pro-American policy on the Middle East since Jack Kennedy; he is the only president since Kennedy not to serve as a lick-spittle for the State of Israel, the only one not to function as an abject tool of the powerful Zionist lobby, led by AIPAC (the American Israel Political Action Committee, which somehow escapes being a registered agent of the State of Israel). The greatest credit, of course, goes to Secretary of State James Baker, who formulated this policy, and maintained it under the most vicious pressure. But Bush deserves credit for picking Baker and backing him up; further, with only a little stretching, Bush/Baker can take credit for the Israeli election that deposed the little monster Shamir, and brought in a more rational government in Israel. Bush/Baker stood firm on delaying the $10 billion loan guarantee until Zionist settlements are slowed down on the Arab lands of the West Bank.

#3. Despite tremendous pressure by New World Orderites at the *New York Times*, by Democrats, and elsewhere, Bush has kept his cool, and has not gotten American troops or even airmen involved in a shooting war (read "quagmire") in ex-Yugoslavia. As readers of *RRR* know by now, no one, even the most fanatical Croat or Bosnian Muslim, surpasses *RRR* in hatred of the Serbs; and yet we recognize that American military involvement in the Balkans would be a catastrophe that could accomplish nothing. The poor Bosnian Muslims, who understandably want *someone* to save them from genocidal slaughter, claim that all the U.S. need do to take out the Serbs and save Sarajevo is to bomb Serb gun emplacements in the mountains surrounding that bleeding city. Rubbish. Objective military experts estimate that it would take no less than 500,000 American infantry troops to secure Bosnia and Sarajevo, and God knows how many more to actually roll back the Serbs. America, Keep Out of Bosnia!

While Bush has been lauded for his action at Desert Storm, the really sensible foreign policy is to do nothing, and Bush's dithering nature has, apart from the Gulf War, led him to Keep Cool and to stay out of foreign quagmires.

#4. Last but certainly not least: the President has reconciled with our hero Pat Buchanan. At last Bush has shown some smarts, and perhaps even a spark of a sense of justice. After a vicious and despicable smear campaign by Bond, Bennett, Quayle et al., the Bush people—while of course not apologizing—are at least implicitly repudiating their own smears by rolling out the welcome mat for the "Nazi," "fascist," etc. Pat Buchanan, who will speak at the Houston convention. So OK. That was the least the Bushies could do, but they did it. The rally for the Greater Good, the rally to stop the advent of Total Evil, can start mobilizing.

Which bring us to the ghastly spectre of Clintonian Democracy.

Contra Clinton

#1. Clinton as Southern Moderate is the Big Lie of the 1992 campaign. Clinton is a Left-liberal, McGovernite packaged in thinly "moderate" camouflage. When he says "investment" he means government spending. Is it really better for a president to *promise* us higher taxes than to break a pledge not to do so? Bush, for all his peccadilloes, at least resisted the conventional Democrat wisdom on taxes; Clinton feels no need to resist. Yikes!

#2. The Clinton-managed Democrat convention was the Leftest ever: multi-culturalism reigned triumphant, with the "Lesbian Rights" banner almost as prevalent as "Clinton for President." Clinton means the triumph of ultra-feminism, trillions more of our dough for inner cities, and the aggrandizement of "gay rights" and other phony "rights" over the genuine rights of private property.

#3. Are we the only publication that detests Al Gore, the alleged "moderate" check on Slick Willie's possible liberalism? Al Gore was one of the biggest spenders in the wild-spending recent Congress. Al Gore, furthermore, is an extreme Left-environmentalist, who shores up Clinton's left flank on this issue. (As an Arkansas governor, seeking jobs and growth, Clinton had a sensible [therefore media-designated "poor"] environment record as governor.)

#4. Gore and Clinton is the most toadying pro-Israel presidential ticket in recent history. *RRR* was one of the first publications to note that David Ifshin, general counsel for the Clinton campaign, was a leading attor-

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ney for the sinister AIPAC. As if this were not enough, Albert Gore is undoubtedly the politician most beloved by organized Zionism in decades. A recent *New York Times* article, discussing the Clinton-Gore ticket, noted that Jews would vote enthusiastically for Clinton because Clinton had received "the heckscher" from Albert Gore, now vice-presidential candidate. "Heckscher," the *Times* article went on to explain, is Yiddish for "imprimatur." But what the *Times* felt it unnecessary to explain is the intriguing problem: "Why is Al Gore so beloved by Jews that he has it in his power to confer the heckscher?" Perhaps one clue to the answer is the fact that the left-libertarian columnist Nat Hentoff, himself a moderate Zionist, in 1988 was moved to dub Al Gore "the Senator from Likud."

#5. The *verdamte* neocons, who carry a kind of negative heckscher for us, are shifting from Bush back to their old home, the Democracy, in honor of the Clinton-Gore ticket. The neocon *Wall St. Journal* has been oozing friendliness to the Clinton ticket, as has Left Neocon Central, the *New Republic*. Indeed, the neocon shift to Clinton has been detailed by one of their own, Fred Barnes, in the *New Republic* ("They're Back!," August 3). Ex-Democrat neocon Richard Schifter, assistant secretary of state for human rights in the Reagan and Bush Administrations, has quit Bush and is now a foreign policy adviser to Clinton. Ditto veteran Right-wing Social Democrat and neocon Penn Kemble, of Freedom House. Then, there is a full-scale "neocon outreach effort" being conducted by David Ifshin and by Clinton buddy Michael Mandelbaum, professor at the John Hopkins School for Advanced International Studies.

Norman Podhoretz, Field Marshal of the neocons, hasn't quite shifted yet, but he is strongly tempted. Even more tempted is young *Commentary* smear artist and "global democrat" Joshua Muravchik, of the American Enterprise Institute. Muravchik explains that "what's kept me firmly in the Republican voting column is foreign policy. But on foreign policy, Clinton's stands are preferable to Bush's." In what way? "On what I care about—human rights promoting democracy, keeping some sense of ideals in our foreign policy. Clinton is more amenable than Bush." Translated from the code words, this means, plain and simple, that Clinton is more pro-Israel and more devoted to a neocon-guided New World Order than George Bush. Or, as Jeane Kirkpatrick, herself still not back in the Clinton camp, explains more candidly: the major factors impelling the neocons into the Reagan camp in 1980 were "Soviet expansionism," now disappeared; and the Carter Administration's alleged "hostility to Israel." Kirkpatrick comments: "That issue still exists but it's flipped. George Bush is putting the pressure [on Israel] now."

The right wing neocons, headed by Irving Kristol and including Robert Bork, feel no tug toward the Clinton ticket. Partly, because the Kristoleans are a tad less socialistic than the others; but there is another, more personal consideration; Crown Prince Bill Kristol is the chief-of-staff, the control, of Dannie Quayle. They're not going to start deserting their own ticket.

#6. Let's never, never forget the looming menace of the monster Hillary. Sure, they cleaned up her act until November; they shut the witch up, stopped her from openly reviling baking cookies, they bobbed and blonded her hair and took that damned headband off (courtesy of the chic Beverly Hills hairdresser Cristophe), and made her look like a sophisticated matron instead of an aging grad student. But you can get bet your bottom dollar that if Clinton wins in November, that the monster Hillary will be back: worse then ever, in control, nasty, tough, and very leftist—she and her bosom buddy, the mannish, lantern-jawed leftwing lawyer Susan Thomases.

Mom and Dad: Hillary is Out to Grab Your Kids! Hillary is the prophet of the children's "rights" movement, a movement now openly backed by Left-"libertarian" philosopher Tibor Machan, a movement that encourages 11-year olds to sue their parents for "malpractice." Any parent can be accused by some officious biddy of "malparenting," and since 11-year olds and 9-year olds and 5-year olds are not exactly legal beagles, you know darned well who will really be doing the suing: leftist ACLU-type lawyers, lawyers cut in the mold of Hillary and Thomases.

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When the campaign began, ultra-left social theorist Garry Wills hailed the "brilliance" of Hillary, as a "children's rights theorist." That means: the government, the leftist lawyers and social workers are out to get your kids! There is a lot of confused discussion about family "values," about what these terms really mean, and about what they don't mean. Well, there's one clear test: "family values" means that kids get brought up, get governed by, their parents. *Anti*-family values, means that *other* folk: bureaucrats, lawyers, duly licensed social workers and counselors and "therapists," the rapacious, power-hungry, leftist New Class, get to bring up and run everyone's kids: all in the name, of course, of children's "rights" and "liberation."

A vote for Bill Clinton is a vote to destroy the last vestige of parental control and responsibility in America. Stopping the coming to power of the Clintons is a *must* in any attempt to preserve American family life.

All these reasons for voting for Bush as against Clinton are, unfortunately and as usual, defensive: A victory for Bush will—at least partly—hold back the hordes for another four years. Holding back the hordes may be important, but it's not exactly soul-satisfying. What *would* be soul-satisfying would be mounting our own offensive, taking the offensive at long last. Some day, we must launch a total counter-revolution: in government, in the economy, in the culture, everywhere, against malignant left-liberalism. When O when do we get to start? ■

Bush for President—*Not!*

by Justin Raimondo

Murray Rothbard's call to "work our way back to the President" is based on a false premise: the notion that we get to choose our rulers this election year. "But there it is," he says, "and there we are. Which set should we choose to rule over us?" But there is no "choice." Once again, the same ruling elite has grabbed control of both parties; as the Old Rightists used to say, "they planned it that way."

Once again, the same ruling elite has grabbed control of both parties.

Aside from this fundamental error, Murray's article is unconvincing on several specific counts.

1) To claim that Bush has "the most pro-American policy on the Middle East since Jack Kennedy" overlooks the mass murder of thousands of Iraqis, including women and children. What is the basis of this "pro-American" claim? Only the fact that Bush did not immediately give in to a demand for *additional* loan guarantees over and above what Israel already gets—he waited until a change of government made his capitulation more palatable. Bush leveled Iraq and is threatening to do so again in the name of enforcing United Nations edicts and policing the "New World Order"—*this* is a "pro-American" Middle East policy?

2) On Yugoslavia, the judgement that Bush has "kept his cool" is necessarily tentative. What seems to be "dithering" may in fact be cold calculation. Who knows, what with a new military build-up in the Middle East to bring us Desert Storm II by November—perhaps by the new year Bush will decide to give it the old one-two punch and strike a double-blow for the New World Order. The distance from Baghdad to the Balkans is only a matter of hours.

3) How is one supposed to react to the glorious news that Bush and his fellow Smearbundists have "reconciled" with Pat Buchanan? The idea that these character assassins have managed to do this while somehow avoiding a public apology to Pat and his supporters is ludicrous. For it was not only Quayle, Bennett, Krauthammer, and Bond who screamed "Nazi-fascist-Francoist"; it was the President himself who suddenly felt obliged to attack "anti-Semitism."

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Whatever agreement Pat Buchanan may have made with the Bush campaign is irrelevant in this context: for the accusations of "fascist," and "anti-Semite" were directed not only at the candidate but also at Pat's followers. They not only smeared a great man, and tried to destroy his career, but they slandered each and every one of *us*.

If Pat Buchanan chooses to endorse the President, after being called a Nazi-fascist-Hitler-loving anti-Semite by Bush operatives, then I am sure he has a good reason. I just hope they give him prime time. But this is something that Pat's rank-&-file activist supporters should not, and, for the most part, will not forgive. Paleos for *Bush*? I would sooner join Paleos for Pol Pot.

Whatever agreement Pat Buchanan may have made with the Bush campaign is irrelevant.

4) Yes, the Democratic convention *was* a repulsive orgy of victimology, but so what? Will this prove to be any better than this year's Republican convention—a celebration of the tax-hiking, war-making George Bush, the conquering "hero" of Desert Storm? Yes, the Israel Firsters are lining up behind Clinton—but there is no doubt that George Bush, "the foreign policy President," who glories in his role as a world leader, is the main danger when it comes to the key question of war and peace. First Panama, then Iraq—one can only look forward to Bush's second term with a sense of dread. Unrestrained by the prospect of having to face the voters again, God only knows what he will do.

5) The Left-neocons are jumping on the Clinton wagon, and the Right-neocons are backing Bush. What does this tell us? If by inverting neocon policy we can decide what course paleocons ought to take this election year, then it seems we must reject *both* candidates.

The task of paleos, whether paleolib or paleocon, is to take back the GOP from the claque of internationalists and Big Government conservatives who have hijacked it, and are now in the process of destroying it. This cannot be accomplished until and unless the Bushians are defeated, discredited, and swept away. What the Republican party needs desperately is new leadership, which it will not get so long as the Bush gang is in power.

As to what four years of the Clinton-Hillary-Gore regime will do to this country, that is something we cannot effectively prevent. In this "democracy" of ours, the nation gets the kind of leaders it deserves. That *we* deserve better goes without saying—but we aren't going to get anything better than Bush or Clinton unless we start building a real political movement. We cannot do that and simultaneously support Bush, because no self- respecting Buchananite would go along with us—and a good thing, too.

O.K., but what about *this* year? Contrary to what Murray Rothbard says, in fact Howard Phillips and his Taxpayers Party is going to be on the ballot in some 30 states. This is more than "a few." In cases where Phillips is not on the ballot, paleos should simply refrain from voting in the presidential race. (I agree that a vote for the LP would be unconscionable. In spite of this, since the voters don't know Marrou from Adam, the LP vote will be relatively big; this year *any* alternative to the two major candidates is going to draw a large protest vote.)

In a 1956 letter to Jasper Crane, Old Right stalwart Rose Wilder Lane commented on this issue of joining a Republican Popular Front or going the third party route. Crane had called the third party candidacy of T. Coleman Andrews "amusing" but thought it of little consequence, and announced his support for four more years of Eisenhower because "the candidate and platform are markedly superior to the Democrats." Rose replied:

> Dear Mr. Crane, it's fantastic how well we agree in fundamentals and how frequently we diverge in surface matters. Now I am serious about the Coleman Andrews party, and

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> I shall change my plans in order to be here to vote for the splinter Republican candidate Viviam Kellems, in Connecticut. I agree with you, of course, that these movements "won't get very far." (at least not soon)...

But in spite of that the Andrews candidacy was

> 1) an opportunity for Americans to register a choice, and 2) an experiment to find out what actual support there is in these States for American constitutional Government... That is the opportunity I have been longing for, all these years; and I welcome with the greatest joy this offer of a way to *register* my own political philosophy—to "stand up and be counted," as one who believes what I believe.

Lane went on to say that a large vote for Andrews would

> strengthen the hands of the so-called 'right' elements in both parties. In Connecticut it may have the effect of defeating the Republican ticket. It may even be large enough to repeat the pattern of the Republican ticket in 1856—and, after four more years of socialism in Washington—the Republican vote of 1860.

Lane understood that the defeat of the Eastern liberal Establishment's stranglehold over the GOP was and is a prerequisite for the victory of liberty. It was true in 1956, and it is just as true today. The key question to ask is: what course of events will best serve our chances in 1996? Do we want King George around to put his royal imprimatur on Jim Baker, or would we rather see the Bush wing of the GOP prostrate?

Our movement must take the long view. Four years from now, the country will be more than ready for our message—and the Republican Party will fall into our hands like an overripe apple dropping off the tree. I can hardly wait. ■

Justin Raimondo is the author of *Reclaiming the American Right: The Lost Legacy of the Conservative Movement in America.*

Reply to Raimondo: Whom To Root for in November?

by M.N.R.

Justin's eloquent denunciation of George Bush is all very well and I agree with it. The problem: what are we supposed to *do* about it? What is Justin's positive program for us in November? After all the thunder, his prescription is pretty feeble: vote for Howie Phillips where he's on the ballot, and otherwise, don't vote.

But this advice misses the point. I was not really concerned, in my article, to counsel on who to vote for in November: I was talking about a very different, though related matter: whom should we cheer for on Election Day? Whom should we *hope* wins the election? Voting is a matter of personal conscience, and can be for one of many minor candidates or for no one at all; *rooting* on who should win, is a different problem: because regardless of who you or I vote for, or whether we vote at all, one of the two *major* candidates is sure to win in November. Whom should we hope wins, or are all the considerations so equally weighted that we should be indifferent? Regardless of our hopes, no minor candidate will win, and the office of President, alas, will not be declared vacant. So we are left with the stark alternative: Bush or Clinton? [The glorious thing about Perot was that *he* had a real chance to win.]

To clarify the difference, let us consider Justin's reference to the glorious Andrews-Werdel ticket, the last Old-Right third-party presidential ticket. I was an ardent supporter of Andrews-Werdel (and of course the great Vivien Kellems for Senate of Connecticut), and would still be today. If the ticket had been on the ballot in New York, or if I had lived in Connecticut, I would have eagerly voted for and supported Andrews-Werdel-Kellems to the hilt. I would have done so for two reasons: first, because I agreed with the entire thrust of their politics; and second, because it was vitally important at the time to preserve and build upon this last gasp of the "isolationist" Old Right.

Before getting to the crucial distinction of voting vs. rooting,

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I would add that there was a critical difference between Andrews/Werdel and the Phillips effort this year. Representative Thomas Werdel was a right-wing Congressman from California; T. Coleman Andrews of Virginia had been head of the IRS, and then resigned, to stump the country for the next several years denouncing the IRS and calling for abolition of the income tax. The Andrews-Werdel foreign policy was Old Right isolationist: against all foreign aid, and in favor of the Bricker Amendment to the Constitution to stop treaties from overriding Constitutional guarantees of strictly limited government power, or protection of the rights of American citizens. The Andrews/Werdel forces were rooted in the Right-wing of the Republican party and were an attempt to form a new Old Right party, while putting pressure on the Republicans to take back that party from the Wall Street liberals that had conquered it in the Eisenhower Administration. The Phillips effort is not a rooted party faction; it is not even an integral third party, appearing only on ballots of other minor parties (e.g. the American Independent Party in California, and on no party ballot in New York unless it be the Right to Life Party). It is scarcely comparable to the Andrews-Werdel effort.

In 1992, I am indifferent to whom one votes for, but I'm definitely rooting for Bush over Clinton.

To get to the voting/rooting distinction, what I was discussing in my article was not whom to vote for (in 1956 it was easy: Andrews-Werdel), but *whom* we should favor winning on Election Night. In 1956, my own position was simple: I was ardently in favor of the election of Stevenson, not for his own sake, but in order to break and punish the Eastern Liberal/Eisenhower forces. Indeed, the only hope for the Andrews/Werdel party, or for a Right-wing takeback of the Republican Party was precisely that: to destroy the Eisenhower wing of the party, and to elect Stevenson. Unfortunately, the Republican Right was stubbornly loyal to the Party, and voted for Eisenhower, and by 1960, the Old Right had faded out of existence. Misbegotten Republican Party loyalty had laid the Right-wing low.

So on the two critical questions, in 1956 I favored *voting* for Andrews, while rooting for Stevenson. In 1992, I am indifferent to whom one votes for, but I'm definitely rooting for Bush over Clinton.

The problem is that Justin has various suggestions about who to *vote* for (Phillips, or nobody), but says nothing about the more important problem: whom to *root* for. Perhaps he might say that, on the analogy with 1956, we should root for Clinton in the same way I rooted for Stevenson in 1956. Apart from the substantive issues (Stevenson was far to the right of Clinton on all matters and his foreign policy was decidedly better, more pro-peace, than Eisenhower's), as I've said, does not speak for a substantial wing of the Republican Party, and has no organized faction.

Again, as between Bush and Clinton, Clinton is substantially worse on all matters, foreign and domestic; in foreign policy, for example, Clinton has already denounced Bush for not going to war with the Serbs over Bosnia. Even more important is the strategic scenario for the next four years. The important strategic question is: under whose reign will we have a better chance to build up the paleo-movement, specifically the Buchananite Right-wing? Consider the scenario of a Clinton victory. Setting aside the horror of a Clintonian America, with both the Executive and Legislature churning out a united Great Leap Forward onto multicultural socialism, what would happen to the Right? It has been true ever since the 1940's that the conservative masses are energized by a Democratic victory, pouring lots of funds and support into conservative institutions; whereas, befuddled and lulled by Republican victories, the support of the conservative masses for Right-wing institutions has tended to dry up. So: a Clinton

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victory would energize the conservative masses. Isn't that good? *No*: because, the state of the Right being what it now is, this funding and energy would be poured into the wrong hands: into the coffers of neocons, Kempians, Buckleyites: in short, of Mensheviks and hacks, whose funding, influence and power would swell, preparatory to one of these neocon or Official turkeys winning the Republican nomination in 1996. The Buchanan forces, that is the genuine Right-wing forces, would be in grave disadvantage for the 1996 donnybrook.

But let us consider another, far more pleasant scenario: George Herbert Bush limps into office by a whisker in November. The way things look, a Bush victory could only be marginal, and surely would be no landslide. And that's *good*, because Bush surely does not *deserve* an enthusiastic mandate, or a triumphant victory. Bush limps into office, with no support. Quayle is discredited, and Kemp and Bennett are, willy-nilly, tied to a crumbling Bush Presidency in his second term. But the beauty part is that the conservative masses will *still* be lulled by the fact of a Republican presidency, so that support and funding for the hacks, Officials, and neocons, will continue to fade away, to crumble with the Bush presidency. In the meantime, a feisty Buchanite Right arises, getting even feistier, and in an increasingly better position to duke it out for the presidency in 1996. And by 1996, Pat would be in a position, if he doesn't get the Republican nomination, to threaten to launch an organized third-party effort. In short, all sorts of possibilities will be open to us.

So, the paleo-Rightwing strategy, it seems to me, is to vote for Bush or not, but in particular to root for Bush to pull out a victory, thus (a) holding back the socialistic hordes, plus (b) putting an organized Buchananite Right, which would have officially endorsed the Bush ticket at Houston, into an excellent position to ride to power in '96 on the backs of a disintegrating Bush Administration, dragging down the neocon and other factions tied to its fate. In short, after seeing to it that Bush safely slides back into office on Wednesday after Election Day, the paleo-right goes immediately into Opposition, to act as a burr under the Bushian saddle for Four More Years. ■

"With Mr. Bush's rating lower than a snake's belly, it has occurred to movement conservatives that 'principle' demand they jump ship."

Gang-Stabbing the President: What, Who, and Why

by M.N.R.

It should have been the ides of March, instead of late July. For surely it was *Et tu, Brute?* time in the nation's capital. As George Bush plummeted in the polls, all the nation's Official Conservative leaders, including of course the neocons, took turns, one by one, with great delight, in plunging the knife into the president. As Sam Francis of the *Washington Times* has pointed out in a brilliant syndicated column, these are the same people who gathered together in Bermuda in May of last year to proclaim, in the words of neocon godfather Irving Kristol, that "President Bush is now the leader of the conservative movement within the Republican Party." These are the same creeps who, shocked at Pat Buchanan's "disloyalty" to Bush, denounced Pat viciously as a "fascist", "anti-Semite," or a variant thereof. And now, as Sam Francis writes, "with Mr. Bush's rating lower than a snake's belly, it has occurred to movement conservatives that 'principle' demand they jump ship."

One by one they got up, preaching on television, as if in concert, at a time neatly orchestrated to hit the Bush forces when they were at their lowest point, after the big Clinton-Gore bounce at the convention and their bus trip through the heartland, surrounded by the swooning Respectable Media

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who could scarcely contain their delight. First, they called on Dan Quayle to quit, and then came the escalation, the call upon Bush to withdraw, "for his own good," according to the smirking sleazeballs trumpeting this "advice." Coming to the fore was Burt Pines, no sooner ousted from a top spot at Heritage Foundation than to become mysteriously anointed by the media as a major conservative "leader." Most repellent of all was *Orange County* (CA) *Register* editor Ken Grubbs, smirking and calling himself a "libertarian," urging Bush to "fulfill his presidency" by quitting. The sleaziest aspect of Grubbs' operation was to wrap himself in a libertarian cloak and say that, as a libertarian, he welcomes all retirement from power; but why didn't Grubbs ever call upon Ronald Reagan to abandon office? In fact, the *Orange Register*, along with the entire Hoiles Freedom Newspaper chain, used to be magnificently and consistently libertarian; but the *Orange Register* was taken over by neocons during the Gulf War, and has been pushing the neocon line ever since.

At the very least, it's an unlovely spectacle: rats scurrying off a sinking ship. And, make no mistake, it's a mass exodus, including all the Beltway thinktank and policy wonk crowd, all claiming that "Clinton is not so bad" or that "he's good on social issues (translation: special-interest-group 'rights' trampling on the genuine rights of private property.)"

Good God, who in their right mind would have thought that it would ever be deeply controversial for a libertarian or a conservative to oppose the ascension to power of Bill Clinton? President Bush was never more correct than when he mused: "It's a weird year out there." Yes, George, *we're* "out here" and we can confirm your gut reaction.

In his columns, Sam Francis has been stressing galloping venality as explanation for this massive shift to Clinton. The venality comes in two parts. The first and most obvious may be summed up in the term "access." While Bush was President and looked strong for another term, "movement" conservative outfits could trumpet their influence with and "access" to the President. They could impress their donors with what they advised President Bush to do, and they could also revel in patronage crumbs for their friends and disciples in various executive jobs. Hence, their paid-for "loyalty" to Bush in the past, and their smears against Buchanan when he threatened to upset their apple-cart. A second venal factor is more subtle, because more hidden from public view. Conservative outfits (indeed, any and all non-profit organizations) get their funding from two main sources: the "masses," the small contributors who are reached by direct-mail fundraising; and the large contributors—the wealthy, corporations, foundations—who are tapped by personal solicitations.

Every organization has its own particular mix of these two funding sources. But all of those dependent on small contributors have been hit, and are always suffering, during Republican Administrations. Contrarily, they always flourish when a Democrat is president. This has been true since the birth of the conservative movement after World War II. When a Democrat is in power, the conservative masses can be easily—and properly—frightened by the imminent prospect of increased socialism ushered in by the Democratic Party. But when a Republican is president, no matter how statist he may be, it is very difficult to rouse the conservative mass by direct mail, since the conservative masses have been almost perpetually imbued with the belief that so long as Republicans are in power in the executive branch, the American republic is safe. As a result, so long as Republicans are in power in the presidency, mass conservative support slowly but inexorably dies on the vine. Remember that the last great flourishing of the conservative movement came during the Carter Administration, when all of our now legendary conservative institutions came into place: including the massive shift to, and capture of, conservatism by the formerly Democrat neocons. Ever since the conservative "triumph" in 1980, the mass support for conservatism has been withering away.

Thus, both grounds for venality: access to the White House, and hope for bad times in the White House, are now coalescing to drive conservatives into the unlikely arms of Slick Willie.

The "Franciscan" analysis carries its penetrating power from the crucial assumption

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that movement conservatism is driven almost exclusively by cynical and corrupt careerism rather than by any vestige of conservative principle. Clearly, Sam Francis's analysis is all too true, arrived at not *a priori* but from many years of deep exposure and penetrating analysis of "our people."

It is possible, however, to deepen the Franciscan analysis by another notch. In addition to short-run venality, there are long-lived and crucially important interest groups who have great influence and power in American culture and American politics. These interest groups may have long-term ideologies, which while not "principles" in any conservative or libertarian sense, are based upon sophisticated views on how to further the long-term interests of themselves and their allies. The most important such interest group in American politics is, and has been for a half-century, the "Rockefeller World Empire," that is, the corporate and financial Eastern Establishment headed, since World War II, by the Rockefeller interests and their allies. What the Rockefellers want should be no great surprise, embodied in the Rockefeller family member who almost became President of the United States: Nelson Aldrich R. What the Rockefellers want is a world economic and therefore political government, run by themselves and their allies, a State-cartelized capitalism that will subsidize and privilege them, shored up by Keynesian inflationary programs of expanding consumer "purchasing power," and particularly massive foreign aid to subsidize Rockefeller-oriented exports, as well as friendly bankers who bankroll both these export firms and the Third World governments who purchase their products. In addition, of course, an American foreign policy must fight for oil—for oil resources and investments, and regulate oil prices in accordance with Rockefeller guidelines. A particular dream is a "New World Order" run by the United States, in accordance with Rockefeller desires, as well as a World Reserve Bank that will inflate the world economy in a manner controlled by Rockefeller expertise. Domestically, the Rockefeller interests want an expanded welfare state, mobilized to be allied to their overall purposes.

All this is now called "enlightened" or "moderate" internationalism and devotion to the welfare-state—all beloved by the intelligentsia, who are bought out by the largess of tax-exempt Rockefeller-allied foundations and organizations. What is less well known is that this Big Business-Big Finance-Big Labor-Big Intellectuals and Media alliance has been going on for a long time: certainly since the New Deal. It is little known, for example, that such crucial New Deal statist "reforms" as the Social Security Act and the Wagner Act of the mid-1930's were put into place by a powerful and malevolent alliance of left-technocratic New Deal ideologues, and powerful Big Business leaders: notably John D. Rockefeller, Jr.'s Industrial Relations Counselors and its successors, and W. Averill Harriman's Business Advisory Council of the Department of Commerce.

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So the premier clue to American politics, especially since World War II, is to look to the Eastern Establishment headed by the Rockefellers. It is well known that since the Rockefeller-run Council of Foreign Relations [CFR] (peacefully taken over from Morgan control after World War II) had gotten too large and unwieldy, it was supplemented in 1973 by David Rockefeller's new, small, elite, and tightly controlled Trilateral Commission. When Rockefeller Republican Gerry Ford came into danger from Ronald Reagan in 1976, however, the Rockefeller forces were ready with Trilat Jimmy Carter, an unknown when he announced his candidacy toward the end of 1975, and who was vaulted to the nomination by hosannahs from the Trilat-controlled Respectable media, ignited by the much-sought after cover of *Time* magazine, edited by founding Trilat

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member Hedley W. Donovan.

The Carter Administration was a remarkable phenomenon: for the entire Cabinet and sub-Cabinet, 26 members in all, from Carter and Vice-President Mondale on down, were all Trilat members. It was an incredible takeover, especially when we consider that there were only 117 American members of the Trilateral Commission all told.

Americans have been conditioned by the glitz and circus and by corrupt Establishment political scientists to believe in the vital importance of political parties, and to analyze politics and governance on that basis. The loss of importance of political parties *nowadays* is generally conceded, but what Americans don't realize is that parties have not been important in determining ideologies or issues since the nineteenth century.

We can rest assured that the power elite, the crucial special interest groups we have been analyzing, have no sentimental attachment to party labels. Republican? Democrat? Who cares, so long as they are under control by the "right" people. "What's good for the ____" is the overriding consideration, and you can fill in the blank with any one of these power elite groups. [The most glaring example was the 1924 presidential election, when *both* President Calvin Coolidge and Democrat candidate John W. Davis, Jr. were personal friends, close buddies, and associates of J.P. Morgan, Jr., head of the powerful "House of Morgan." Morgan, who, in this embarrassment of riches chose Coolidge, was delighted but not embarrassed by this situation.]

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To return to the Carter Administration, by the middle of his term, it was becoming ever clearer that Carter was a loser, and so it became important to the Rockefeller Trilats to have a suitable Republican waiting in the wings. The pesky problem was Ronald Reagan, who in his speeches was exposing and denouncing the Trilateral Commission and its baleful influence. Reagan was egged on by his hard-core conservative theoreticians and agitators who had helped expose the Trilats. Everything went swimmingly for the forces of truth and justice until shortly before the Republican Convention of 1980, when Reagan suddenly stopped attacking the Trilateral Commission—the name being destined never to surface again. At the Convention, the deal was struck with the Rockefeller forces—symbolized by Reagan's post-convention jaunt to shake the hand of David R., and more importantly by Reagan's choice of George Herbert Walker Bush, Trilat, for Vice-President. That was the moment when knowledgeable observers of the power elite scene knew that the so-called "Reagan Revolution" was already down the drain. From then on, it was all play-acting, the only skill at which Reagan has always excelled.

Bush's accession to Total Power of course pleased the Rockefeller World Empire [RWE], but, as usual with the power elite, sentimental loyalty ranks very low on their value scale. As good old George began to slip in the polls during 1991, our old friends the RWE began to look for likely satraps in the Democrat Party. By far the likeliest was and is Governor Bill Clinton of Arkansas, himself a member of both the CFR and the Trilats. When David Rockefeller heard Clinton address the Bilderbergers (an elite Euro-American group of which David R. is a member), he pronounced himself satisfied. A Clintonian Democrat Party would be a safe Democrat Party from his point of view. The result: Respectable Media acclaim and the Clinton glide to the nomination.

The result of all this is that the RWE has been neutralized for the 1992 election. Or rather: the RWE is content no matter who wins. The RWE is out of the game.

This leaves us with a determining role played by the second most powerful elite interest group in America: the neoconservatives, who are particularly dominant in the Respectable

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Media, and in controlling conservative foundation money sources. While the neocons are small in number, the combination of money and media influence will carry you a long, long way. Once staunch Truman-Humphrey-Scoop Jackson Democrats, the neocons left the Democrat Party en masse in the middle of the Carter Administration and moved rightward to the Republican Party and to take over the conservative movement and dominate the Reagan coalition. As once and present Right-wing Social Democrats, the neocons domestically are in favor of an "efficient" welfare state. They favor expanding the welfare state and domestic statism, but while furnishing "supply side" incentives to the rich through cuts in upper-income tax rates and capital gains taxes. They are also Keynesian inflationists seeking world economic government. They favor civil "rights" laws, but balk at some of the extreme forms of affirmative action and feminism.

But what animates the neocons first and foremost is foreign policy. The dominant and constant star of that foreign policy is the preservation and the aggrandizement, over all other considerations, of the State of Israel, the "little democracy in the Middle East." Consequently, they favor massive foreign aid, especially to the State of Israel, and America as the dominant force in a New World Order that will combat "aggression" everywhere and impose "democracy" throughout the world, the clue to that "democracy" being not so much voting and free elections as stamping out "human rights violations" throughout the globe, particularly any expression, real or imagined, of anti-Semitism.

It is clear that the RWE and the neocon visions, while motivated by very different principles and goals, are congruent almost all the way. There will inevitably be variant and even clashing nuances in their visions, for example: oil, as against the State of Israel. But tracing the subsequent coalitions or clashes between these two powerful groups will go a long way toward explaining the seeming anomalies, and even much of the "weirdness," in recent American political history.

So here we are in 1992. The Rockefeller World Empire couldn't care less , either Bush or Clinton would be fine. And that leaves the neocons, who have been engaged in a massive shift from Bush to Clinton. And if we remember the venal opportunism of the Official Conservative organizations, we must now consider the large contributors, the personal solicitations, where the Four Sisters, the conservative foundations (Olin, Scaife, Bradley, Smith-Richardson) hold all the cards. And these foundations are controlled by their staff, their executive directors, who for a number of years have all been neocon disciples of godfather Irving Kristol. So there we have the final missing term in our political equation. Access and direct mail argue for Clinton; and the neocons have swung massively to Clinton, some outright, others with scarcely camouflaged hints and nudges. The *Wall Street Journal*, the major neocon organ, has been all but beating the drums for Clinton, and urging Bush to withdraw; Bill Buckley has urged the dumping of Quayle; Bill Bennett has denounced Bush, etc. The Kristol family cannot of course come out for Clinton, since Crown Prince William K. is the "control" of dimwit Vice-President Quayle. Note too that the man whom all these forces want is Jack Kemp, the Number One darling of the neocon forces.

And so we have a massive conservative shift from Bush to Clinton guided by corruption and venality, as well as by the ideological special interests of the neoconservatives. During the Carter years, the neocon concern with Israel was backed by an equally fervent anti-Stalinism and hawkishness on the Cold War, a hawkishness connected to Israeli concerns. The anti-Stalinism fooled the conservative movement into embracing neocons as ideological blood-brothers. But now that the Cold War is gone, Israel becomes *the* consideration, without the anti-Communist veneer, and yet the rest of the conservative movement does not seem to have caught on. Just as the neocon shift to the Republicans in late 1978 was primarily motivated by the increasing bad blood between Carter and Israel, so their shift from Bush to Clinton is motivated almost exclusively by Bush's opposition to Shamir and the Likud and his blocking of the $10 billion loan guarantee to Israel that the neocons had come to regard as Israel's by divine right.

And so there we have it: the who and why of the remarkable

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and otherwise incomprehensible massive shift of conservatism to the arms of a Democrat liberalism that they once abhorred.

It used to be said that knowing economics won't keep you out of the breadline, but at least you'll know why you're there. Knowing the real story of the conservative mugging of President Bush may not stop the Clinton juggernaut, but at least our readers will know why it's happening.

And we can see, too, that Pat Buchanan's political instincts have been right as rain throughout this entire turbulent and "weird" political season. Pat was magnificently right to be the only person to step out and challenge George Bush, the only conservative to have the insight and the courage to move against Bush's rule; he was right to be one of the very few conservatives to be friendly to the abortive Perot-Revolution; and he is right, once again, to be virtually the only conservative leader to finish the primary process by endorsing George Bush for President. In each one of these changing stands in a wildly changing year, Pat was right, and in each one he has been courageous and alone. Pat Buchanan is a political leader who uniquely combines keen political insight with the courage to stand up and act on his beliefs. For throughout the muck and the evil around him, through all the dregs of the "conservative movement," Pat stands our as a monument to principle. In a movement of odious and venal opportunists, Pat Buchanan emerges as the only authentic Hero in politics today. ■

Ex-Czechoslovakia

by M.N.R

We at *RRR* were among the first to hail the breakup of that misbegotten whelp of Versailles: the "country" called Yugoslavia. The inherent lie of such a country is now exposed to all the world, and the phony "nation" of Yugoslavia is gone forevermore. Now we must add another hosannah: the impending collapse of the other grotesque product of Versailles tyranny: the "nation" called Czechoslovakia.

How beloved that "nation" always was, in respectable circles, in the *New York Times*, the Council of Foreign Relations, among all the right-thinkers and uplifters, all the certified experts that float back and forth from the CFR to the State Department to various foreign policy think-tanks! At Versailles, the English, the French, and the Wilson Administration set up the phony "nation" of Czechoslovakia, carved out of the beaten Germany and Austria-Hungary in World War I. And just as Yugoslavia was a mask for Serb tyranny over other ethnic nationalities, so Czechoslovakia was a cover for despotism of the Czechs over other nationalities in the area: specifically, over the Sudeten Germans, Poles in the Teschen area, Hungarians in Southern Slovakia, the "Carpatho-Ruthenians" in the eastern tail (actually western Ukrainians), and in particular, the Slovaks in the eastern part of the country, west of the Carpatho-Ruthenian tail.

The difference is that the Serbs were never as incredibly beloved in the *New York Times*, CFR et al, as were the Czechs, and their virtually canonized leader, Dr. Tomas Mazaryk. And just as the Croat desire for independence and freedom from Serb oppression was (and still is) denounced in the Western Establishment press as "Nazi," so too the Slovak desire for independence and getting out from under the Czechs was attacked similarly.

There were other similarities. Whereas the Czechs are part Protestant, part Catholic, and secularist in their old ruling elite, the Slovaks were solidly Catholic—as are the Croats. And when Germany occupied these countries during World War II, it granted independence to Slovakia, under Monsignor Tito, as they did to the Croat Ustashi government. Both small countries were quasi-puppets of the Germans, although Tiso was far more independent of the Nazis. In both cases, the Germans trusted neither the Serbs nor the Czechs, and hence kept them under protectorates or under direct occupation.

After World War II, Soviet occupation drove out the Sudeten Germans, in quasi-genocidal fashion; Poland kept Teschen; and Carpatho-Ruthenia was, sensibly, incorporated into Ukraine. This left the Czechs, Slovaks, and some Hungarians, with the Czechs continuing to dominate under Communism.

But now, with the collapse of

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Communism and the advent of national freedom, the Slovaks, at long last, are demanding their freedom from Czech rule; such trivia as changing the name to include a hyphen; "Czecho-Slovakia," proved scarcely enough to satisfy Slovak demands.

The difference is that the Czechs are not Serbs, and also that the Czechs now have probably the most genuinely free-market government in all of Eastern Europe; hence, the Czechs are setting an example for all such ethnic struggles by having the sense of justice, and the simple magnanimity, to take national self-determination seriously, and to agree, ruefully but respecting the Slovaks' wishes, to let the Slovaks go. Let secessionists depart: would that all attempts at secession, including that of the South in 1861, been treated the same way!

So, farewell Czechoslovakia, what took you so long? and welcome to the family of nations, Slovakia and Czechia! ■

U.S., Keep Out of Bosnia!

by M.N.R.

When Johnny comes marching home again, Hurrah! Hurrah!
They'll give him a hearty welcome then, Hurrah! Hurrah!
There'll be bankers and writers and Englishmen
To send him off to war again,
They'll all be there when Johnny comes marching home.

—Isolationist ditty, 1941

And so, are we off to war again? Add Social Democrats, and, considering the malignant role of the warmonger, Lady Thatcher, keep the "Englishmen," in the ditty, and guard your son (and daughter now) Mom and Dad, because they're beating the war drums again.

It's a heavy irony. *RRR* has been in the forefront, for the last two years, in denouncing the Serbs. Not long ago, the entire New World Order crowd, from the *New York Times* to the *New Republic* to every "foreign policy expert" on TV, that is our entire Social Democratic elite, were defending the Serbs, who spoke for the "territorial integrity of Yugoslavia," the rest of their time was spent desperately trying to help Gorby keep the old rotting Soviet Union together.

The problem is that increasingly we have government by TV clip.

The Bush Administration was obedient to their call. Every Establishment article on Yugoslavia was not considered complete unless the beleaguered Croats were attacked for being "Nazis," with the Ustashi regime of World War II lovingly dredged up. The Serbs, on the other hand, were supposedly "anti-Nazi" and "pro- West," this grossly over-simplified version of World War II in the Balkans presumably defining their positions for all time.

But now, suddenly, it's a different story. Suddenly, the Social Democrats, the same old suspects, now including the Clinton-Gore ticket, are denouncing the Bush Administration for not making war upon the Serbs, instantly, and for not pressuring and squeezing our "European allies" in the UN, i.e., forcing them to go along to give a war policy an internationalist veneer.

Is there to be no conflict, no war, no problem anywhere in the world that the poor United States, already declining in productivity and living standards, mired in depression and groaning under a $400 billion annual deficit, must send its troops and its treasure to set everything right? How long is it going to take to learn the lesson: that just as government throwing money at social and economic problems only makes those problems worse, so the United States government is not able to cure all the ills of mankind?

The problem is that increasingly we have government by TV clip. All the media have to do is to send some newsmen to a war-torn area, show pictures of torture or detention camps or starvation, and the sentimental fools who constitute Western public opinion, especially in the

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U.S., where sentiment and demagogy have long replaced thought, will pressure the U.S. government to "do something" to set everything right. As usual, it is the fat cat civilians, the "experts" and media elite sitting in their plush, air-conditioned offices and bars, that are thirsting for blood, and the youth of the armed forces and the taxpayers who are supposed to supply it.

To his credit, President Bush is at least cautious at getting in a Balkan quagmire, reflecting the position of the Pentagon, who are very mindful of the lessons of Vietnam and of Lebanon. Military experts estimate that it would take an army of 500,000 men to secure Sarajevo and Bosnia alone, and far more to try to occupy Serbia. Even the Nazis had a great deal of trouble with Serbian guerrillas in World War II. What can we expect, blundering into an area of intense and ancient ethnic hatreds, armed only with empty cliches about "aggressions" and "territorial integrity?"

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And what of the Europeans, our NATO "allies," the French and the Germans and the rest? Why are they so reluctant to send troops, why are they confining their reaction to handwringing? Why? Because they are right there, and they know a lot more about what's going on than the foolish, quixotic U.S., always ready to leap in where everyone of sense refuses to tread.

This good sense, of course, does not apply to that neocon heroine, that old shrew, Mrs. Thatcher. On Thursday, August 6, our cup ran over, for on that day the organ of Social Democracy Central, the *New York Times*, published on its Op-Ed page, back to back, two solemn articles by certified Big Shots demanding immediate war against the Serbs. One was Mrs. Thatcher. That aging jingo, unchastened by the repudiation of her own party, is back, urging the U.S. and the West to give an immediate ultimatum to the Serbs to comply with a series of absurd Western demands, or else face maximum military force. Those demands include "demilitarization of Bosnia" and the entire region (Yeah! Fat chance!), and, in particular, the protection and enforcement of the "territorial integrity" of Bosnia. Mrs. Thatcher adds that the West's aim should be to "restore the Bosnian state," which must also be guaranteed as a unitary country, "not allowing for its partition into three cantons."

What in the world is this? "Territorial integrity" of Bosnia? For Heaven's sake, Bosnia didn't even exist until a few months ago! These are the same characters who, a short time ago, insisted on defending the "territorial integrity" of Yugoslavia! Does all someone have to do is declare some area a "country," and then the entire world, led of course by the U.S., must rush in with money and men to guarantee its "integrity?" And what's wrong with partition, at least as a concept, and apart from the fact that the Serbs want to grab a lot more than their ethnic regions?

In fact, while the Bosnian Muslims running the new little country may be lovable, gentle people, the idea of maintaining Bosnia-Herzegovina as a unitary, multi-ethnic "democracy" was and continues to be idiotic. It cannot succeed, and can only cause continued, permanent trouble and conflict for everyone. Since the Bosnian Muslims are gentle folk without much of an armed force, they have gotten the dirty end of the de facto partition, but they should be happy, eventually, to take their ethnic areas and forget the multi-ethnic nonsense. In the Balkans, where every group hates the other, it's simply not going to work. American Social Democrat busybodies should understand that in the Balkans, at least, there is and won't be any "melting pot" or even a "gorgeous mosaic."

In the accompanying article, *Times* foreign policy maven Leslie Gelb repeats the Thatcher argument. So: what about the quagmire problem? Both Thatcher and Gelb, especially the latter, and the other war-

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mongers, claim that U.S. ground troops won't be needed. Again: the old seductive nonsense that we have heard since Major deSeversky in the 1930s is trotted out: we can do it all by air power. Cheap, effective, and only foreigners get killed (except for one or two American pilots who might get shot down by ground-fire).

Again, it's not going to work, as the Pentagon knows all too well. The original idea, floated by the poor Bosnian Muslims themselves: All we want is for the American air force to bomb the gun emplacements in the hills around Sarajevo. Well, that's been given up. Even Gelb admits that the gun emplacements can't be knocked out from the air, and also that the Serb guerrillas will smash the blue-helmeted UN "humanitarian" troops. So: what to do? Aha! Punish the civilian Serb population! The warmongers are talking about tightening the embargo (yeh, lots of luck, with all the land routes into Serbia).

And don't forget, this ain't the Middle East desert; this is a land of lots of mountains and trees. But the key proposed punishment is to bomb the Serbian population: bridges, military stores and "installations," airfields, "military factories." So what they are saying, when we peel away the occasional lip- service to "military," is to bomb Serbian civilians, and to bomb and bomb and bomb again until the Serbs cry uncle. Well guys, it's never worked. It didn't work in World War II, it didn't work in Vietnam, it didn't work anywhere. No country or people get bombed into submission. They just get madder, and find ways of carrying on the war despite the bombing. And that means that after the lack of success of the sanctions and the "punishment," a million or so American troops will have to be sent in to occupy Bosnia and Serbia forever, to get pounded and shot at year in and year out, forever.

What's the alternative? All right, say it: "Nuke Belgrade." Are you prepared to come to that? And what if, after we kill a million or more Serbs in Belgrade, what if that doesn't work either?

Many of the mavens acknowledge that our choices are hard, that the problem is difficult (no difficulty, of course, is acknowledged by the Iron Lady). But they are prepared, of course, for Serb civilians, young Americans in the armed forces, and the U.S. taxpayer, to pay any price needed for ultimate victory. But why? Why is the U.S. supposed to be the world's policeman and nanny?

And then we have it: not only the ultimate, but the only argument: Hitler! Just as Hitler did not stop when he was "appeased," so we have to stop the Serbs, before it is "too late." Too late for what? Perhaps this common imbecility was expressed by my least favorite Senator (yes I know, it's a tough choice): Joseph Lieberman (D. CT). Lieberman said that if we don't stop the Serbs in Bosnia, then they will go on next to Kosovo, and then maybe even Macedonia. Ooohh?! Must we go all-out to stop them before they get to Skopje? And if that happens, the war will spread, Bulgaria, and Turkey will step in (Eh?!) And then.....the rest of the sentence after "and then" is always left hanging. And then what exactly, Senator? If we don't stop the Serbs in Sarajevo, they will wind up swimming the Atlantic and, with daggers in their teeth, invade Connecticut? Is that what you're saying, Senator?

The argument about stopping the Serbs now, now before they invade New York, is the reductio ad absurdum of the favorite warmongering thesis that "aggression" must be nipped in the bud, as if "aggression" were a disease, an infection that must be caught early or else it will overwhelm us all. It is a reductio ad absurdum, and yet no one laughs. The degeneration of American culture, the descent to absurdity, has no clearer demonstration. And this argument, of course, is based on the Hitler analogy. In the space of no more than a year, the Social Democrat elite that runs American opinion has discovered no less than five "Hitlers," against each of whom we have had to be mobilized to the teeth.

Let's call the roll: Saddam Hussein, David Duke, Pat Buchanan, H. Ross Perot, and Slobodan Milosevic. All, all, have been denounced hysterically by our Social Democrat elite of media and intellectual "experts," and all have been treated as an immediate menace to the American Republic. You'd think that, after a while, this baloney wouldn't work. How many times does the kid have to cry "Wolf" before no one

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takes him seriously? As for me, I can't wait. ■

P.C. Watch

by Llewellyn H. Rockwell, Jr.

I Demand Bald Studies

David Sacks, editor of the *Stanford Review*, reports on a new course at that university, "Black Hair as Culture History." The upper-level history seminar, taught by Professor Kennell Jackson, shows how "black hair has interacted with the black presence in this country."

Black hairdressers will serve as visiting lecturers, and the texts include "400 Years Without a Comb" by Willie L. Morrow.

"Has anyone experienced a black hair event recently?" the professor asked the class. An actress's "cornrow hair at the Oscars," answers a student. "That's a good one," says Jackson.

Any Playground?

In the summer heat, reports Lynne Duke in the *Washington Post*, young black men "do battle under the hoop." Others "lounge, wearing skull caps, beepers, and pants that ride low" while grousing about "the jobs that seem ever beyond their reach." They also wear "t-shirts bearing images of blackness," such as "the packed hold of a slave ship and the words, 'Never Forgive, Never Forget.'"

"The playground is in Shaw in Northwest Washington, but it could be any playground, in any inner city." The young men "feel under siege" by a "society that perceives them as a danger," an "oppressive perception" that "hurts and angers."

"Everything that's going on," says 17-year-old Antoine Budd, "the white people's putting it in here, like drugs. White people killing us off slowly but surely."

Says Germaine Washington, a 19-year-old black man: "The white man, he rules because we let him rule." But it won't always be that way. A "lot of black men are dying, but a lot of black men are being born."

Meanwhile, "small, laughing boys, the oldest of whom is 8," run around "throwing dirt-filled potato chip bags at each other." One "had a bright pink toy beeper, filled with chewing gum, clipped to his pocket."

"The little boys began to taunt one man" who, "limping from an old gunshot wound, playfully hobbled after the boys," who fled. "He laughed and cursed them. The giddy boys showered the man with dirt bags. Then one boy got a stick. Others got rocks. Shattering glass sounded as one boy broke a soda bottle. He playfully threatened the man with its jagged edges. Another boy held a metal pole like a spear. Another laughing boy found a tire iron and swung it awkwardly."

One Utah NAACP official speculated that Andrews had been driven crazy by living in a white state.

The Heroic Andrews

Am I the only person startled by the media attempt to make a hero out of William Andrews, the black recently executed for murder in Utah? The jury was, of course, the dreaded "all-white." And we were told that some white murderers had not been executed. Racism!

Andrews claimed not to have been present when his accomplice, also black, shot three white people to death during a robbery. But he did admit to pouring the caustic cleaner Drano down the throats of five tied-up white people, and then taping their mouths shut. The two who survived were brain damaged. He also raped a white woman and stuck a pen deep into a white man's ear.

One Utah NAACP official speculated that he had been driven crazy by living in an almost entirely white state.

Afro-Paganism

Caption for a front-page photo in the *Milwaukee Journal*: "The African World Festival opened with a gift to mother earth Friday evening. To honor the earth and bring good fortune, fruit

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was thrown into Lake Michigan from the banks of the Summerfest grounds."

"A Font of Black Culture"

What the *New York Times* described as a "font of black culture" was burned in the L.A. riots: Aquarian Books, whose owner had collected all the black-authored books since the early 1940s—some 5,000 volumes. "It was more than a bookstore," black writer Wanda Coleman told the *Times*. "It was one place you could meet and talk and not feel you were being intruded on by interlopers from the majority culture."

Counseling

Guidance counselors are the new villains. In a number of stories on National Public Radio, insensitive counselors are blamed for the failure of minority kids to go to college. And in a front-page story in the *New York Times*, counselors are blamed for the lack of minorities in graduate school as well. (No counselor is ever interviewed for a response, by the way.)

One youth called her counselor a racist because he wouldn't fill out her college applications for her. Another black student said counselors tell students like her, "You don't have that 'thought gene.'"

"Minorities are particularly scarce" among PhDs, notes the *Times*. "Of the 24,721 PhD degrees awarded to Americans last year, blacks received 993, Hispanic Americans 708, and American Indians 128."

The All-White Jury

John Elvin passes along this tidbit in his "Inside the Beltway" column in the *Washington Times*": Ed Young, a black writing in Hawaii's *Voice of the African-American Community in Paradise*, says that one of his cousins was a juror in the trial of the four policemen accused of beating Rodney King. My "first reaction was disbelief, since the media had portrayed the jurors as having two Hispanics and no African Americans," writes Young. But "my mother's nephew, who was born to a Caucasian mother and an African-American father, was indeed one of the Rodney King jurors. I should also state that his identification as a Caucasian male by the media. . . has caused considerable anguish within my mother's family."

> "His identification as a Causasian by the media has caused considerable anguish in my mother's family."

Gays in the Military?

"Sex is an incredible impulse," Col. David Hackworth told *USA Weekend*, "especially among 20-year-olds." When we advocate allowing open gays into the military, we forget that combat is a "man-killing-man, win-or-lose, life-or-death enterprise," and that bonding makes a platoon willing to undergo it. "Guys hitting on guys" means having "that trust warped."

Although Hackworth doesn't mention it, the presence of women in the military has already undermined discipline and bonding. Do we want to make the situation worse?

Aside from all the other arguments on allowing professing gays in the military, there is one that seems clinching in our victimological times. We wouldn't just have "non-discrimination," we'd have affirmative action, sensitivity training, and a gag rule, so that expressing a preference for heterosexuality would mean the end of a career. P.C. terror already reigns on behalf of women and minorities.

The racial, ethnic, and gender quotas in the military have made it—despite the hosannas to "tolerance in the Gulf"—much less effective as a fighting force, as we will find out if we invade Yugoslavia. Do we really want to add orientational quotas to the present mess?

Drive-In Condomania

Despite the fact that the AIDS virus passes through condoms like BBs through a tennis net, condoms continue to be promoted by the Left. They are the only way to fulfill the Left's two imperatives: promiscuity and hypochondria. The typical Leftist goes crazy over infinitesimal traces of a chemical in his salad, and yet

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wants to be able to have intercourse with anything that moves. The condom, if you don't examine it too closely, solves the problem.

The condom is also useful because it helps undermine parental authority when school officials—who can't teach kids to read—hand out birth control devices to students and teach them promiscuity (under the rubric of sex and AIDS education).

The condom is also the perfect rebuke to those who uphold the ideal of chastity, and recently the *New York Times* and other papers have been covering the ordeal of a heroic condom seller beset by benighted Italian Catholics.

Rhode Island's first drive-through condom stand was opened in a conservative Italian neighborhood on the most important local religious feast day. The *San Francisco Examiner*, also known as the *AIDS Update*, conjured up visions of the KKK be cause the pink Condom Hut was sprayed with black paint.

"This is the '90s," said the woman owner, "and people need to practice safe sex." But not everyone agreed. The elderly Italian women who throng the area think of the Condom Hut as a manifestation of the Devil and some young people are upset as well. "She's crazy," said 19-year-old Michael Guadagno. "I'm shocked, and I'm a kid."

Your People

Not many aspects of Ross Perot campaign interest me anymore, but I am still fascinated by the fact the entire media considered his references to "your people" in his NAACP speech to be racist.

Only Peter Applebome of the *New York Times* attempted to explain. The phrase "seemed to evoke a sense of separateness between blacks and whites." Oh? At a meeting of an all-black organization dedicated to advancing only blacks?

Another Environmental Scam

"Rain forest" means *jungle*. The Brazilian rain forest is actually the Brazilian jungle. But the ecos correctly saw that not many people would respond to cries of Save the Jungle, so they rebaptized the smelly, slimy, dank, and dangerous jungle as the cuddly, eminently savable rain forest.

In this spirit, they should rename cockroaches as kitchen chipmunks. It would make the job of the animal rights bug lovers so much easier.

The Other King

A new book by Keith D. Miller, *Voice of Deliverance: The Language of Martin Luther King Jr. and Its Sources* (Free Press, $22.95) agrees with Ted Pappas in *Chronicles*: King plagiarized his doctoral dissertation. This doesn't show a character flaw, says Miller, only that King was bored by the theologians he was supposed to write about.

Miller also shows, as does the first volume of the collected King papers, that King plagiarized everything else—his other academic work and his famous speeches and sermons.

A few months before he was shot, King preached a famous sermon that seemed to prophesy his death. But the homily, "Drum Major Instinct," was lifted entirely from a 1949 sermon of the same name by J. Wallace Hamilton, a Florida preacher.

This was typical conduct. Other people's work, King believed, was "common treasure," not "private property." Ah yes, Martin Luther King, socialist in economics, women, and language.

The Non-PC MP

Sir Nicholas Fairbairn, a Scottish MP, caused an uproar in the House of Commons, reports D.R. Segal, when he described its women members as all looking "as though they're from the 5th Kiev Stalinist Machine-gun Parade. I am delighted to have more [women] in the House of Commons, but they certainly do not give me feelings of femininity—and by that I don't mean 'beddable.' They lack fragrance on the whole. They're definitely not desert island material."

Sex, Arabs, and Videotape

Unlike most of the Kuwaiti armed forces and all of the Kuwaiti royal family, Flight Lt. Suleiman Adsani stayed to fight the Iraqis. But during the occupation he saw a liberated home video of Sheik Jaber Sabah, a cousin of the King, having sex with one of his wives.

After the war, the Sheik had Adsani covered with hot wax and set afire. Forty other resistance fighters were also tortured, in an attempt to track down all copies. It has been,

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however, widely circulated in the Middle East.

Guerrilla Girls

An anonymous group of feminist artists, Guerrilla Girls, has long denounced the New York art world for its supposed lack of interest in women artists. "Do women have to be naked to get into the Met?" asked a typical poster, featuring a nude woman in a gorilla mask and the supposedly damning statistic that the Metropolitan Museum's artists are 95% male. (If it weren't for feminism, they'd be 99% male.)

When the Guggenheim Museum opened a Soho addition with an exhibition of four artists, the GGs denounced "white boy artists at the white boy museum," and the exhibit was changed.

But one paleo in New York (yes, there are a few) told me he is enjoying the latest poster, which contains the GGs' idea of the most outrageous political beliefs possible.

1. Protecting the rights of the unborn means precisely that. Once you're born, you're on your own.
2. Sexual harassment is man's natural response to women on the job. Women who report it are uptight prudes. Women who don't are ambitious whores.
3. Women are paid less in the workplace because they have no business being there.
4. Anyone who is unemployed or homeless deserves it.
5. The people who have the most money are entitled to the best health care.
6. AIDS is a punishment for homosexuality and drug abuse. Only heterosexuals, celebrities, and children deserve a cure.
7. Life is beautiful. Artists, writers, or performers who want to inflict disgusting homosexual erotic, satirical, or political images upon the public should have their grants cut off.

The Nightmare Team

In Cold War days, I bought the line that amateur-pro distinctions helped the Communists, and that our best players should be in the Olympics. I was wrong.

The "Dream Team" was boring and embarrassing. But if you didn't like their thuggish style of play, "you wouldn't understand, it's a ghetto thing," said one of the players.

I'm ready for basketball reform. Let's lower the basket so everyone can "slam dunk." It would be what we're always told is the ideal: a level playing field.

The Green Religion

"When giving us dominion of the earth," Al Gore has written, "did God choose an appropriate technology? One is tempted to answer, the jury is still out."

"Is that blasphemy," asks Howard Phillips, "or merely presumption?"

Justice for the L.A. Four

"Justice for the L.A. Four," reads a popular t-shirt in that city, "Let My People Go." It's not about the persecuted policemen, but about the five (not four) black criminals arrested in the beating of white motorist Reginald Denny.

The support for these men—all members of the 8 Trey Gangster Crips—is wide and deep in the black community, says Congress of Racial Equality chairman Celes King III, because "so many people feel that there but by faith could be one of their relatives."

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The Rev. Edgar E. Boyd, pastor of Bethel African Methodist Episcopal Church, is holding weekly support meetings. "We don't want to see them railroaded by an unjust system," he says.

Tyson's Pal May Join Him

The Rev. T. J. Jemison, head of the National Baptist Convention U.S.A., the largest black religious group in America, has been indicted by a federal grand jury for lying under oath.

Jemison had denied offering Desiree Washington, Mike

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Tyson's rape victim, a bribe to withdraw her charge, which eventually sent the boxer to an Indiana pen.

"If I could be Desiree for a minute," Jemison had told her father in a recorded telephone conversation, "I'd be most happy to accept an offer of, say, between five hundred, nine hundred thousand, and get it over with and get my name clear." Later he mentioned "maybe even a million."

Jemison has also been indicted in an unrelated case for bank fraud.

Illegal Aliens Want Driver's Licenses

Because of a Leftist lawsuit, for four weeks New Jersey issued driver's licenses to illegal aliens, and there was a flood. Americans were forced to wait up to four hours in line because of the aliens. Two immigration lawyers have now filed suit to restore the practice, claiming that the rotten 14th amendment guarantees them licenses, even if they are breaking the immigration laws.

Time-Warner finally succumbed to decency and deleted Ice-T's paean to police murder.

Media Blackout

The national media, seeming to have enlisted in the Clinton campaign, have refused to carry the story of another Clinton mistress, Sally Perdue, a former Miss Arkansas. When Perdue was interviewed on the Sally Jessy Raphael tv show, stations around the country showed reruns rather than broadcast the truth about the special-interest controlled Democratic candidate.

Don't Make Mine Ice-T

Time-Warner finally succumbed to decency and deleted Ice-T's paean to police murder (one line: "Die, die, die, pig, die. Fuck the police! I know your family's grievin', Fuck 'em"). But other "songs" on the album also deserve the landfill. One involves his dream of sodomizing "Tipper Gore's two 12-year-old nieces," and another his stabbing his mother to death ("Die, bitch, die") because she disapproved of his having a white girlfriend.

Barbara Jordan

Why is Barbara Jordan considered a great orator? Her phony British accent, her convoluted sentences, her wacky syntax, and her interminable pauses combine to make her an empress without rhetorical clothes.

The Democrats love her, however, and she brought them to their feminist feet at the convention with a quote from Alexis de Tocqueville: "if anyone asks me what I think the chief cause of the extraordinary prosperity and growing power of this nation, I should answer that it is due to the superiority of their women."

As Ron Paul has pointed out, however, feminism was not quite what Tocqueville had in mind. He argued that American women were superior because they were such good wives and mothers.

American women do not regard "conjugal authority" as a "usurpation of their rights" or feel they are "degraded" by "submitting to it," he wrote in *Democracy in America*. "On the contrary, they seem to take pride in their free relinquishment of their will." They understand that "every association, to be effective, must have a head, and the natural head of the conjugal association is the husband. They therefore never deny him the right to direct his spouse."

In America, "one never hears an adulterous wife noisily proclaiming the rights of women while stamping the most hallowed duties under foot." Of course, he hadn't attended the Clintorama.

Hollywood Hypocrisy (Or Do I Repeat Myself?)

A year or so ago, Holly Dunn's country music record "Maybe I Mean Yes" was hysterically attacked by feminists for allegedly encouraging "date rape." The song noted "When I say no, I mean maybe. Or maybe I mean yes." Only Rush Limbaugh, heroic opponent of what he calls "feminazis,"

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defended what Miss Dunn called a "lighthearted look at one couple's attempt at dating, handled in an innocent, nonsexual, flirtatious way."

The record, which simply represents the accumulated wisdom of the race, was immediately pulled from radio stations and country music video stations by the company that produced it. And that company was, notes Mike Royko, *Warner Brothers*, the same leftist outfit that claimed constitutional principles were at stake in Ice-T's pro-murder rap.

Bebe's Kids

Imagine a cartoon in which white kid criminals destroy a black amusement park, whose black employees are stupid and evil. And it's a comedy.

Of course, as usual, the racism is anti-white. The new cartoon *Bebe's Kids* shows black kid criminals having a great time literally destroying Disneyland (founded by the only decent man ever to run a Hollywood studio). The movie portrays this as justified, and in fact long overdue, since the park is "too white."

According to the *Washington Post*, the movie chronicles the hilarious smashup of the "antiseptic [i.e., clean] Fun World," where "fascistic white employees" are mean to "black folks" by not making them feel welcome. All the whites in the movie are "moronic, fascistic, greedy, and boneheaded," but so what? The movie "happily celebrates African Americans—their bodies, their music, their humor."

The Rev.

"With trembling hands and husky voice," reports Charles Moore in the *London Telegraph*, Jesse Jackson "reminded us that Jesus was the child of a single mother, declaring that Vice President Dan Quayle was the Herod of his day. If 'Mary had decided not to have the baby,' he went on, the Republicans would have called her immoral. The crowd roared and whistled its approval."

In other words, added Auberon Waugh in *The Spectator* (the real one), the Democrat convention was "prepared to cheer and whistle a Christian minister who condemned the Republicans for refusing to abort Jesus Christ."

The Ancient Principle That Refutes Big Government

by L.H.R., Jr.

When the Danes rejected the Maastricht Treaty, the socialist leader of the European Community, Jacques Delors, started talking about "subsidiarity." The term is largely unknown in America, but it's become the biggest issue in the European political economy.

Briefly, the principle holds that a community of a higher order should not interfere in a community of a lower order. Or put another way, that the people closest to a problem can best solve it.

As a socialist, Jacques Delors doesn't believe in subsidiarity. But faced with a revolt against centralization, he protests that the EC charter mentions it. Indeed it does—in one clause. Meanwhile, it centralizes control over trade, regulation, politics, money, and banking.

As treaty opponents point out, if the Germans conduct their monetary policy responsibly, why should they have to turn it over to a less-responsible European central bank? Even if Germany botches the job, a European central bank couldn't do better. And according to the principle of subsidiarity, the burden of proof is on those at the top who want power, not on those on the bottom who are giving it up.

Subsidiarity was first discussed by Aristotle in Book II of *The Politics*. He concluded that property should be owned privately rather than communally. Owners know the best use of their property, he wrote, whereas common ownership leads to conflict. And people tend to be generous with their own things. "None of these advantages is secured by those who seek excessive unification of the State."

St. Thomas Aquinas relied on the principle in his justification of private property, as did Pius XI in his encyclical *Quadragesimo Anno*. John Paul II used it to criticize the welfare state in his encyclical *Centissimus Annus*. When centralized bureaucracies are charged with solving problems far out of their reach, he argued, who can be surprised when they become concerned only with their budgets, powers, and perks?

Subsidiarity entrenches a bias that seems eminently reasonable: those with greater knowl-

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edge and motivation should have primary responsibility.

Think of what we do when we need help or a favor. The ordering corresponds with subsidiarity. We first try to take care of the problem ourselves. Then we go to family, then to close friends, then to the neighbors, and then to our church. The local government is far down the list. How much further are the feds?

Socialists and liberals argue that markets can fail and when they do, central authority should intervene. Subsidiarity does not rule this out absolutely, but it does place the burden of proof on the central power to demonstrate, a) that it is really a failure of the lower order (property, family, community) and not of the higher order (government) in disguise, and b) that the higher order will actually improve matters. No case springs to mind where both conditions are met.

It's time to allow local bankers to meet local customers needs with a hard currency.

Here is how subsidiarity would apply in individual cases:

1. Individual firms, in the competition to attract and keep employees, may or may not have to provide child care, maternity leave, parking, and a health club. The decision is best left to a competitive market.

2. A massive federal apparatus pretends to regulate the economy to prevent pollution. But property owners are surely in a better position to solve such problems.

3. Central control over race relations—i.e. civil rights legislation—have created hatred and economic chaos. Such problems can only be worked out by those closest to them.

4. The central bank has brought us inflation and the business cycle. It's time to try a solution that allows local bankers to meet local customer's needs with a hard currency.

5. Government take 40% of the national income, when good sense tells us that owners and producers can make best use of their own resources.

In American history, any excuse has sufficed for centralizing control: interstate commerce, slavery, depression, war, the cold war, the war on poverty, but today the excuses have run out. With the cold war over and the war on poverty failed, more Americans are wondering why states, localities, families, and individual property owners aren't capable of handling all the issues of civil society.

Jacques Delors may talk of subsidiarity, but the people are the ones able to apply it. That should leave him, and all those like him on both sides of the Atlantic, without a job. ■

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